01077

1972/11/02

SITUATION: PARIS TALKS
SUBJECT CATAGORY: RVN

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

MESSAGE:
ROUTINE
FJJ 537
R 022323Z NOV 72
FM USDEL FRANCE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6377 AMEMBASSY SAIGON 1059

INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK 4784 AMEMBASSY SEOUL 4123
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI AMEMBASSY TOKYO 4799
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE 6678
CINCPAC UNN COMUSMACV UNN

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 5 USDEL FRANCE 20956

TAIPEI (USIS FOR PIKE)
CINCPAC FOR POLAD
SUBJ: PARIS MEETINGS ON VIET-NAM: TRANSCRIPT OF GVN
PRESS BRIEFING BY NGUYEN TRIEU DAN, NOVEMBER 2, 1972
GOOD AFTERNOON FRIENDS,
YOU ALREADY HAVE THE TEXT OF MR. NGUYEN XUAN PHONG'S PREPARED
SPEECH. DURING THE SESSION THE COMMUNIST SIDE CONTINUED TO REFUSE
TO DISCUSS THE PROBLEMS WHICH WE BROUGHT UP AND THERE WAS A
BRIEF DISCUSSION AT THE END OF THE SESSION WHEN MR. PHONG TOOK
NOTE OF THE COMMUNISTS' REFUSAL TO ENTER INTO DISCUSSION. AT
THE SAME TIME HE FELT IT NECESSARY TO DEPLORE THE ATTITUDE
OF THE COMMUNIST SIDE WHICH ONCE AGAIN DISREGARDED THE MOST ELEMENTAR
Y
RULES OF DECORUM, USING CRUDE LANGUAGE, IMPROPER IN THIS FORUM AND
PARTICULARLY UNSUITED TO NEGOTIATIONS.
THAT SUMS UP THE PRECEEDINGS AT THIS SESSION. WITH REGARD TO
CONTENT, TODAY WE BROUGHT UP MATTERS OF SUBSTANCE. THESE ARE REAL
ISSUES INVOLVING BOTH SIDES AS WE MOVE TOWARD A SETTLEMENT. THESE
ARE, FIRST OF ALL, MEASURES TO GUARANTEE A REAL AND EFFECTIVE
CEASE FIRE THROUGHOUT INDOCHINA. THERE IS A SECOND PROBLEM WHICH
IS CRUCIAL: THE PROBLEM OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS WAGING WAR
IN INDOCHINA OUTSIDE THE BORDERS OF NORTH VIETNAM. THERE IS ALSO
THE CONCRETE AND SPECIFIC PROBLEM OF THE DEMILITARIZED ZONE,

******* WHSR COMMENTS *******

HOLDRIDGE,NEGROPONTE

DECLASSIFIED
Authority E012958
By WJ NAR Date 3/6/00

SITUATION: PARIS TALKS
SUBJECT CATAGORY: RVN

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

ESTABLISHED BY THE GENEVA AGREEMENTS OF 1954, WHICH CONSTITUTES THE LINE SEPARATING THE TWO VIETNAMS PENDING THE REUNIFICATION OF THE COUNTRY. LASTLY AND ABOVE ALL, THERE IS THE POLITICAL QUESTION ,
THAT IS, THE WAY IN WHICH OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE FREELY TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN FATE -- WHICH MUST BE THE BASIS OF ANY SETTLEMENT -- IS TO BE RESPECTED,
THESE ARE THE PROBLEMS CONFRONTING BTOH SIDES ON THE PATH TO PEACE A PEACE TO WHICH THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE ASPIRE MORE THAN ANY ONE ELSE AND WHICH THEY WANT TO ACHIEVE AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE. BUT HOW CAN PEACE BE ACHIEVED IF THESE PROBLEMS ARE IGNORED ON THE PRETEXT THAT THEY DO NOT EXIST? THERE CAN BE NO BETTER WAY TO RESOLVE THESE PROBLEMS THAN BY NEGOTIATION. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM IS PROPOSING THESE NEGOTIATIONS. IT IS PROPOSING THAT THEY BEGIN WITHOUT FURTHER DELAY. YESTERDAY, ON THE OCCASION OF OUR NATIONAL DAY, PRESIDENT NGUYEN VAN THIEU INVITED THE HANOI REGIME TO ENGAGE IN SERIOUS NEGOTI

BT

DECLASSIFIED
Authority EO 12958
By [illegible] NARA Date 3/6/[illegible]

SITUATION: PARIS TALKS
SUBJECT CATAGORY: RVN

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

MESSAGE:
ROUTINE
FJJ 544
R 022323Z NOV 72
FM USDEL FRANCE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6378 AMEMBASSY SAIGON 1060

INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK 4785 AMEMBASSY SEOUL 4124
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI AMEMBASSY TOKYO 4800
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE 6679
CINCPAC UNN COMUSMACV UNN

UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 5 USDEL FRANCE 20956

A: NOT AT ALL. AS YOU PUT IT -- ONCE AGAIN I AGREE WITH YOU -- THIS IS ONLY A DRAFT, A DRAFT AGREEMENT AND MOREOVER BETWEEN NORTH VIETNAMESE AND AMERICANS. WHAT WE DID TODAY WAS TO STATE THE PROBLEM AS SOUTH VIETNAM UNDERSTANDS IT, THE PROBLEM OF WAR AND PEACE AS WE, SOUTH VIETNAMESE, UNDERSTAND IT. TO RESOLVE THE REMAINING PROBLEMS. WHAT COULD BE MORE NATURAL, LOGICAL AND REASONABLE THAN TO RESOLVE THEM BETWEEN THE ADVERSARIES. THAT IS, AS WE PROPOSED, WE ARE PREPARED TO MEET WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF HANOI IN PARIS OR ANYWHERE ELSE FOR THE PRECISE PURPOSE OF DISCUSSSING AND EVENTUALLY SIGNING A CEASE-FIRE AND PEACE AGREEMENT BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH VIETNAM. WE ARE ALSO PREPARED TO MEET AND TO HAVE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SO-CALLED NLF IN PARIS, SAIGON, OR ELSEWHERE TO DISCUSS AND TO SIGN AN AGREEMENT ON THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE POLITICAL PROBLEMS.
Q: BORROWIECK, WASHINGTON STAR
THEN YOU ARE PROPOSING ANOTHER SERIES OF NEGOTIATIONS IN ADDITION TO THOSE AT AVENUE KLEBER AND IN ADDITION TO THE SECRET NEGOTIATIONS, YOU ARE PROPOSING ADDITIONAL NEGOTIATIONS BWETWEEN YOURSELVES AND THE REPRESENTATIVES OF NORTH VIETNAM?
A: THERE IS A CONFLICT AMONG VIETNAMESE. WHAT COULD BE MORE NATURAL AND MORE REASONABLE THAN TO DISCUSS IT AMONG VIETNAMESE, AND WHAT COULD BE MORE ABSURD THAN TO MAKE THE CLAIM, AS DO THE NORTH VIETNAMESE, OF BEING ABLE TO SETTLE THE

DECLASSIFIED
Authority EO 12958
By WJB NARA Date 3/6/00

SITUATION: PARIS TALKS
SUBJECT CATAGORY: RVN

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

WAR IN SOUTH VIETNAM BETWEN NORTH VIETNAMESE AND AMERICANS?
Q: GOLDSMITH, AP
MR. DAN, YOU USED THE EXPRESSION, "A DRAFT AGREEMENT". THIS INDICATES THAT THERE IS NO AGREEMENT. THERE IS A DRAFT AGREEMENT WHICH HAS BEEN PLACED ON THE TABLE BUT NOTHING HAS BEEN SETTLED. IN YOUR OPINION HAVE THE AMERICANS AND THE NORTH VIETNAMESE REACHED AGREEMENT ON SOMETHING OR NOT?
A: BUT, YOU SEE, I DID NOT MAKE UP THE EXPRESSION "DRAFT AGREEMENT", MR. SULLIVAN USED IT AND SO DID WASHINGTON. THE QUESTION WHICH I WAS ASKED WAS WHETHER WE STATED THE PROBLEM TODAY WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THIS DRAFT AGREEMENT. THE ANSWER IS THAT WE STATE THE PROBLEM AS WE, SOUTH VIETNAMESE, UNDERSTAND IT.
Q: GOLDSMITH, AP
THAT WAS NOT MY QUESTION. IN YOUR OPINION HAVE THE AMERICANS AND THE NORTH VIETNAMESE REACHED AN AGREEMENT OR NOT?
A: YOU SHOULD ASK THE PARTIES CONCERNED.
Q: ULLMAN, AFP
BY PROPOSING DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS NOW BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM AND NORTH VIETNAM AND THE PRG, DOES THAT MEAN THAT YOU HENCEFORTH REJECT THE PROCEDURE WHICH HAS BEEN USED UP TO NOW -- THAT IS DIRECT AND SECRET MEETINGS BETWEEN AMERICANS AND NORTH VIETNAMESE? DOES THAT MEAN THAT YOU'RE DECIDED THAT THE AMERICANS CAN NO LONGER REPRESENT SOUTH VIETNAM IN THE SECRET NEGOTIATIONS?
A: WE HAVE BEEN PROPOSING THESE DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS WITH HANOI AND WITH THE SO-CALLED NLF FOR A LONG TIME, AND TODAY WE REPEAT THIS PROPOSAL.
Q: LEWIS, NYT
THE SAIGON POSITION UP TO NOW HAS BEEN THAT IN ORDER FOR THERE TO BE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE NLF THEY MUST FIRST LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS. ARE WE TO UNDERSTAND NOW THAT THIS CONDITION HAS BEEN SET ASIDE AND THAT YOU ARE WILLING TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE ENEMY BEFORE A CEASE-FIRE?
A: NO, MRS. LEWIS. WE HAVE NEVER SET ANY SUCH CONDITION FOR THE OPENING OF NEGOTIATIONS, WE HAVE NEVER SET ANY PRECONDITIONS FOR THE OPENING OF DISCUSSIONS EITHER WITH HANOI OR THE SO-CALLED NLF. Q: BEHR, NEWSWEEK
MR. DAN, TO COME BACK TO MR. ULLMAN'S QUESTION, DO YOU THINK THAT BILATERAL CONVERSATIONS MIGHT BEGIN BETWEEN SAIGON AND THE PRG WHILE THE WEEKLY FOUR-PARTY MEETINGS CONTINUE?
A: WHY NOT? WE ALREADY HAVE MEETINGS HERE AND SECRET MEETINGS. WHY NOT? THERE ARE MANY AVENUES WHICH OPEN UP ON THE SOLE CONDITION THAT THE COMMUNIST SIDE ALSO WISH TO SETTLE THIS PROBLEM IN A MANNER WLUCH IS SATISFACTORY TO ALL THE VIETNAMESE PARTIES.
Q: BEHR, NEWSWEEK
THEN THESE MEETINGS COULD BE HELD ALONGSIDE THE THURSDAY FOUR-WAY

DECLASSIFIED
Authority E012958
By [illegible] NARA Date 3/6/[illegible]

SITUATION: PARIS TALKS
SUBJECT CATAGORY: RVN

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

MEETINGS?
Q: WE HAVE A VERY OPEN MIND ON MATTERS OF FORM. ,,,/,,,
PORTER

BT

DECLASSIFIED
SEN Authority E012958
By [illegible] NARS Date [illegible]

SITUATION: PARIS TALKS
SUBJECT CATAGORY: RVN

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

ANNOTATIONS:

MESSAGE:
ROUTINE
FJJ 535
R 022323Z NOV 72
FM USDEL FRANCE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6379 AMEMBASSY SAIGON 1061

INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK 4786 AMEMBASSY SEOUL 4125
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI AMEMBASSY TOKYO 4801
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE 6680
CINCPAC UNN COMUSMACV UNN

UNCLAS SECTION 3 OF 5 USDEL FRANCE 20956

Q-. KALISHER, CBS
HAVE THESE CONVERSATIONS ALREADY TAKEN PLACE?
A-. WE REPEATED OUR INVITATION YESTERDAY.
Q-. SULLIVAN, BALTIMORE SUN
EXCUSE ME FOR INSISTING UPON THIS POINT BUT DO YOU MEAN THAT IF THESE NEW CONVERSATIONS BEGIN BETWEEN YOUR GOVERNMENT, AND THE NLF AND HANOI THEY WOULD START OUT FROM ZERO WITHOUT TAKING INTO ACCOUNT WHAT HAS OCCURRED BETWEEN THE U.S. AND HANOI?
A-. WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY "START OUT FROM ZERO"?
Q-. SULLIVAN, BALTIMORE SUN
THIS IS ABOUT THE FIRST TIME...
A-. WE ARE NEGOTIATING WITHIN A GIVEN CONTEXT OF COURSE.
Q-. SULLIVAN, BALTIMORE SUN
WOULD YOUR PURPOSE BE TO CLARIFY WHAT EXISTS IN THE DRAFT AGREEMENT?
A-. THE PURPOSE WHICH WE HAVE IN MIND IS TO NEGOTIATE IN ONE WAY OR THE OTHER. THE FORM MATTERS LITTLE. AS WE SAID, VIETNAMESE PROBLEMS MUST BE SETTLED BETWEEN VIETNAMESE. THIS IS THE MOST LOGICAL AND NATURAL WAY; BUT, AS WE HAVE SAID THERE REMAIN PROBLEMS OF SUBSTANCE WHICH HAVE NOT BEEN RESOLVED. THEREFORE IT IS UP TO THE TWO PARTIES TO RESOLVE THESE PROBLEMS AND PEACE IS AT THE END

DECLASSIFIED
Authority E012958
By WJ311 NARA Date 3/6/00

SITUATION: PARIS TALKS
SUBJECT CATAGORY: RVN

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

OF THIS ROAD. ONE CANNOT PRETEND, ONE CANNOT CLOSE ONES EYES, AND SAY THAT PEACE HAS COME WHILE IGNORING THAT REAL PROBLEMS REMAIN, REAL PROBLEMS WHICH REMAIN AND MUST BE SOLVED.
Q-. ULLMAN, AFP
DO YOU MEAN BY THIS THAT THE PROBLEMS CANNOT BE SOLVED DIRECTLY BETWEEN THE AMERICANS AND THE NORTH VIETNAMSE, AS MR. KSSINGER AND MR. LE DUC THO TRIED TO DO, ARRIVING AT THE DRAFT AGREEMENT WHICH WE ARE DISCUSSING?
A-. CAN YOU, WHO HAVE BEEN FOLLOWING THE VIETNAMESE PROBLEM FOR A LONG TIME, SEE HOW THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE POLITICAL PROBLEM CAN BE RESOLVED BY ANYONE OTHER THAN THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE THEMSELVES? IS THIS POSSIBLE?
Q-. ULLMAN, AFP
THAT IS, IN THE DRAFT AGREEMENT, THERE IS A PROCESS PROVIDED FOR, A CERTAIN NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONS, A WHOLE SYSTEM WHICH IS ENVISAGED. DOES THIS MEAN THAT THIS SYSTEM SEEMS ENTIRELY UNSATISFACTORY AND THAT IN FACT YOU MUST NOW UNDERTAKE A NEW PHASE WHICH WOULD BE IN ADDITION TO THE FOUR-PARTY NEGOTIATIONS HERE IN PARIS AND THE BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE AMERICANS AND THE NORTH VIETNAMESE, A NEW SERIES OF NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN YOURSELVES AND THE PRG AND YOURSELVES AND HANOI?
A-. THE PROBLEM IS VERY SIMPLY: THERE ARE PROBLEMS WHICH REMAIN TO BE SOLVED. THESE PROBLEMS MUST BE SOLVED ONE WAY OR ANOTHER IF WE WANT TO REACH AN AGREEMENT. DO YOU AGREE? THE QUESTION IS HOW THEY CAN BE RESOLVED. WE ARE PREPARED TO SOLVE THEM THROUGH NEGOTIATION.
Q-. RENARD, FIGARO
IS IT CORRECT OR INCORRECT THAT IN THE MEETINGS WITH THE NORTH VIETNAMESE THE AMERICAN PARTY WAS AUTHORIZED TO REPRESENT YOU.
A-. I BELIEVE I ALREADY ANSWERED THIS QUESTION LAST TIME.
AS I SAID THERE IS NO MORE NATURAL OR MORE LOGICAL WAY TO SETTLE THE VIETNAMESE CONFLICT THAN AMONG VIETNAMESE BUT IF THESE NEGOTIATIONS HAVE NOT YET TAKEN PLACE, IT IS BECAUSE THE COMMUNIST SIDE OBSTINATELY REFUSES TO TALKS WITH THEIR ADVERSARIES, THAT IS, THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM. IN THE INTEREST OF PEACE WE GAVE OUR APPROVAL FOR THESE PRIVATE BILATERAL MEETINGS BETWEEN THE AMERICANS AND THE NORTH VIETNAMESE BUT IF WE ARE FLEXIBLE WITH THE REGARD TO THE FORM OF THE PRIVATE MEETINGS, WITH RESPECT WITH THE CONTENT, WHATEVER CONCERNS THE FUTURE OF SOUTH VIETNAM MUST DEPEND UPON THE DECISION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM, WHICH REPRESENTS THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE POPULATION. DR. KISSINGER, AS PRESIDENT THIEU HAS STATED, RELAYS THE NORTH VIETNAMESE PROPOSALS TO US, AND WE EXPRESS OUR VIEWPOINTS ON THE NORTH VIETNAMESE PROPOSALS AND DR. KISSINGER RELAYS OUR VIEWPOINTS TO THE NORTH VIETNAMESE.

DECLASSIFIED
Authority E012958
By WJ NARA Date 3/6/00

SITUATION: PARIS TALKS
SUBJECT CATAGORY: RVN

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

Q-, BEHR, NEWSWEEK
YOU HAVE JUST SAID THAT THE SAIGON GOVERNMENT RETAINS SOVEREIGN AUTHORITY WITH REGARD TO ITS DECISIONS BUT MR. KISSINGER IN HIS PRESS CONFERENCE SAID THAT A FEW DAYS WILL BE SUFFICIENT AND THAT IT WILL NOT BE NECESSARY TO RETURN TO SAIGON FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH PRESIDENT THIEU, THEN YOU ARE NOT IN AGREEMENT WITH DR. KISSINGER ON THIS POINT?
A-, I ANSWERED MR. REDMONT'S QUESTION WHICH WAS ABOUT THE SAME. HE HAS REASONS TO SAY WHAT HE SAYS AND HE CAN EXPLAIN THESE REASONS TO YOU BETTER THAN ANYONE ELSE ASK HIM.
Q-, BEHR, NEWSWEEK
WE ARE SIMPLY TAKING NOTE OF THE DIFFERENT POINTS OF VIEW.
.../...
PORTER

BT

DECLASSIFIED
Authority E012958
By (WSJ) NARA Date 3/6/00

SITUATION: PARIS TALKS
SUBJECT CATAGORY: RVN

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

MESSAGE:
ROUTINE
FJJ 536
R 022323Z NOV 72
FM USDEL FRANCE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6380 AMEMBASSY SAIGON 1062

INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK 4787 AMEMBASSY SEOUL 4126
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI AMEMBASSY TOKYO 4802
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE 6681
CINCPAC UNN COMUSMACV UNN

UNCLAS SECTION 4 OF 5 USDEL FRANCE 20956

A: THE POSITION OF OUR GOVERNMENT, THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE POINT OF VIEW, IS VERY CLEAR. IF YOU LIKE I CAN SUM IT UP FOR YOU IN A FEW WORDS. WE ARE SEEKING A GENUINE AND EFFECTIVE CEASE-FIRE THROUGHOUT INDOCHINA. THIS IS THE TOUCH STONE OF OUR POSITION, BOTH FROM THE MILITARY STANDPOINT AND THE POLITICAL STANDPOINT: THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE POPULATION'S RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION. LET'S TAKE ONE PROBLEM, THAT OF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS IN SOUTH VIETNAM. HOW CAN THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE POPULATION'S RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION BE RESPECTED IF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS DO NOT LEAVE THE TERRITORY OF SOUTH VIETNAM?
HOW CAN THE PRESENCE OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS IN SOUTH VIETNAM BE RECONCILED WITH THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION? THIS IS OUR GOVERNMENT'S POSITION. IT IS VERY CLEAR. I BELIEVE THAT IT IS UNEQUEVOCAL. AS FOR OUR POSITION AND THAT OF THE U.S. ALL I CAN TELL YOU IS THAT CONSULTATIONS ARE TAKING PLACE BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS CONCERNING THE VIEWPOINTS OF THE TWO COUNTRIES.
Q: MEXICAN JOURNALIST
YESTERDAY DR. KISSINGER SPOKE OF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS IN THE NORTHERN PART OF SOUTH VIETNAM. IS THE WITHDRAWAL OF THESE TROOPS A PRECONDITION OF YOURS FOR THE DRAFT AGREEMENT...
A: YOU SAY THAT DR. KISSINGER SPOKE OF THIS...THIS IS A REMOR. HE DID NOT SAY IT
Q: MEXCIAN JOURNALIST

SE
DECLASSIFIED
Authority E012958
By [illegible] NARA Date 3/6/00

SITUATION: PARIS TALKS
SUBJECT CATAGORY: RVN

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

35,000 TO 40,000 TROOPS IN THE NORTHERN PART OF SOUTH VIETNAM,.,
DOES YOUR GOVERNMENT THINK THAT THESE TROOPS HAVE TO LEAVE BEFORE
THERE CAN BE A DRAFT AGREEMENT?
A: I HAVE NO COMMENT ON THIS RUMOR, OUR POSITION ON THE PROBLEM
OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS IN SOUTH VIETNAMESE IS VERY CLEAR,
THEIR PRESENCE IS IRRECONCILABLE WITH THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE
POPULATION'S RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION.
Q: MEXICAN JOURNALIST
MUST THESE TROOPS LEAVE BEFORE YOU WILL CONSIDER AN AGREEMENT?
A: I'VE ALREADY ANSWERED THIS.
Q: GOLDSMITH, AP
WITH REGARD TO THE SUBSTANCE OF THE PROPOSALS AS WE KNOW THEM,
HAS THERE BEEN ANY CHANGE IN THESE BASIC POSITIONS SINCE OCTOBER
8, OR HAS THE BASIC POSITION REMAINED THE SAME SINCE THEN?
A: IS THIS YOUR WAY OF TRYING TO GET ME TO COMMENT ON THE DRAFT
AGREEMENT? I DID NOT WANT TO DO SO FOR THE SIMPLE REASON THAT,
AS I SAID EARLIER, WHAT WE ARE INTERESTED IN HERE IS FIRST OF
ALL TO PRESENT THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE POSITION ON THE SEARCH FOR PEACE,
AND SECOND TO TRY TO BRING OUR ADVERSARIES INTO DISCUSSION AND
NEGOTIATIONS WITH US FOR THE PURPOSE OF REACHING AN AGREEMENT.
WE BELIEVE THAT THIS IS STILL THE QUICKEST WAY TO ACHIEVE PEACE.
Q: RENARD, FIGARO
I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU A QUESTION WHICH HAS NOT BEEN ASKED,
WHAT ARE THE POINTS IN THE ACCORD AS IT WAS PUBLISHED BY
HANOI ON WHICH YOU ARE IN AGREEMENT?
A: THERE IS ONE POINT : RESPECT FOR THE RIGHT TO SELF-
DETERMINATION OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE POPULATION, FOR US, THIS IS
THE TOUCHSTONE OF OF ANY SETTLEMENT.
IF WE HAVE FOUGHT FOR ALMOST 20 YEARS IT IS FOR THE PRECISE
PURPOSE OF DEFENDING AND MAINTAINING THIS RIGHT FOR SOUTH VIETNAM.
THE COMMUNISTS CLAIM TO RESPECT THIS RIGHT, BUT CONCRETE MEASURES,
GUARANTEES FOR THE RESPECT OF THIS RIGHT ARE NECESSARY.
Q: RANDAL, WP
IS THIS THE ONLY POINT YOU AGREE ON?
A: I'LL ANSWER THIS IN J ST A MOMENT.
(WOMAN JOURNALIST)
Q: HAS THERE BEEN A CHANGE IN THE ATTITUDE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF
THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM TOWARD THE PRG, WHICH YOU HAVE
CONSIDERED UP TO NOW AS AN APPENDAGE OF HANOI?
A: THIS IS A VERY GOOD QUESTION BECAUSE IT WILL ALLOW ME TO EXPLAIN
OUR POSITION ON THE ORGANIZATION REFERRED TO AS THE NATIONAL
LIBERATION FRONT, THE NLF IS SIMPLY AN INSTRUMENT OF NORTH VIETNAMESE
AGGRESSION, ON ARMED MINORITY OPPOSING THE LEGAL GOVERNMENT
AND IN THE SERVICE OF AN OUTSIDE COMMUNIST REGIME, BUT DESPITE
THIS AN PRECISELY BECAUSE THESE PEOPLE ARE SOUTH VIETNAMESE,
WE PROPOSE IN OUR PEACE PLAN, AND WE ARE PREPARED, TO HOLD

DECLASSIFIED
Authority E012958
By [illegible] NARA Date 3/6/00

SENSITIVE

SITUATION: PARIS TALKS
SUBJECT CATAGORY: RVN

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

DISCUSSIONS WITH THEM ON SUBJECTS CONCERNING SOUTH VIETNAM.
THIS WILL SHOW YOU THE EXTENT OF OUR GOVERNMENT'S GOODWILL
AND SINCERE DESIRE TO ACHIEVE A PEACE WHICH WILL AT THE SAME TIME
LEAD TO THE RECONCILIATION OF ALL SOUTH VIETNAMESE, DESPITE THE
FACT THAT UP TO NOW THIS FRONT HAS PLAYED THE ROLE OF AN INSTRUMENT
OF HANOI'S POLICY WE PROPOSED THAT THIS FRONT PARTICIPATE IN
THE ELECTIONS AS AN EQUAL WITH THE OTHER POLITICAL GROUPINGS IN
SOUTH VIETNAM, GO BEFORE THE PEOPLE, AND SOLICIT THEIR VOTES.
.../...
PORTER

BT

DECLASSIFIED
Authority E012958
By WJB NARA Date 3/6/00

SE

SITUATION: PARIS TALKS
SUBJECT CATAGORY: RVN

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

ANNOTATIONS:

MESSAGE:
ROUTINE
SVA009 FJJ604
R 022323Z NOV 72
FM USDEL FRANCE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6381 AMEMBASSY SAIGON 1063

INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK 4788 AMEMBASSY SEOUL 4127
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI AMEMBASSY TOKYO 4803
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE 6682
CINCPAC UNN COMUSMACV UNN

UNCLAS SECTION 5 OF 5 USDEL FRANCE 20956

Q-. RANDAL, WP
IF I AM NOT MISTAKE, THIS IS NOT A NEW OFFER.
A-. WE'VE BEEN MAKING IT FOR THREE YEARS.
Q-. RANDAL, WP
I WOULD LIKE TO GO BACK TO A QUESTION ASKED BY A COLLEAGUE.
IN THE DRAFT AGREEMENT BETWEEN HANOI AND WASHINGTON THERE IS ONE POINT ON WHICH YOU MORE OR LESS AGREE.
A-. I MUST TELL YOU, MR. RANDAL, THAT RESPECT FOR THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE POPULATION'S RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION IS OUR POSITION. THIS IS THE POSITION THAT SOUTH VIETNAM HAS ALWAYS DEFENDED. AND THIS RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION IS SOMETHING THAT NORTH VIETNAM HAS BEEN TRYING TO TRAMPLE UNDER FOOT FOR 20 YEARS. THEY HAVE SOUGHT TO CONQUER SOUTH VIETNAM BY FORCE. THEY HAVE NOT SUCCEDED. THE PROBLEM FOR THEM IS THAT IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO SAY "WE RESPECT THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION," TO SAY IT VERBALLY AND GRATUITOUSLY. THEY MUST COME TO AN UNDERSTANDING WITH US ON CONCRETE POINTS AND GUARANTEES FOR THE RESPECT OF THIS RIGHT.
Q-. RANDAL, WP
ARE THERE OTHER CLAUSES, OTHER PARAGRAPHS, OTHER IDEAS IN THE/ DRAFT AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE AMERICANS AND THE NORTH VIETNAMESE

DECLASSIFIED
Authority E012958
By WJ NARA Date 3/6/00

SITUATION: PARIS TALKS
SUBJECT CATAGORY: RVN

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

WHICH SEEM TO HAVE YOUR GOVERNMENT'S APPROVAL OR IS THIS THE ONLY ONE?
A-. I DON'T WANT TO GO INTO DETAILS BECAUSE OUR POSITION ON THE SEARCH FOR PEACE IS WELL KNOWN. IF I SPOKE ABOUT THIS RIGHT TO SELF DETERMINATION, IT IS PRECISELY BECAUSE FOR US IT IS THE TOUCHSTONE FOR EVERYTHING.
Q-. RANDAL, WP
IT'S THE TOUCHSTONE, BUT ARE THERE ANY OTHER STONES IN THE BUILDING OF PEACE, AS IT IS PROVIDED FOR IN THIS AGREEMENT THIS DRAFT AGREEMENT, WHICH SEEM TO HAVE YOUR APPROVAL?... ARE THERE ANY WORTHWHILE IDEAS OR IS NORTH VIETNAM RECOGNITION OF THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION THE ONLY THING IN THIS AGREEMENT WHICH PLEASES YOU?
A-. THERE ARE PROBLEMS IN THIS AGREEMENT WHICH REMAIN UNSOLVED,
Q-. RANDAL, WP
THERE ARE PROBLEMS BUT NO AGREEMENT.
A-. PROBLEMS WHICH MUST BE RESOLVED.
Q-. ULLMAN, AFP
FOR EXAMPLE, THE DRAFT AGREEMENT PROVIDES FOR SOMETHING THAT SOUTH VIETNAM HAS, I BELIEVE, WANTED FOR A LONG TIME: AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE WHICH WOULD ENSUE AND WHICH, IT SEEMS TO ME WOULD BE A FORUM IN WHICH A CERTAIN NUMBER OF QUESTIONS COULD BE RESOLVED...
A-. YOU SEE, THERE ARE SOME BASIC PROBLEMS WHICH MUST BE RESOLVED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF ANY PEACE AGREEMENT. IN OUR SPEECH TODAY, WE MENTIONED A CERTAIN NUMBER OF THESE PROBLEMS AND IN PRESIDENT THIEU'S SPEECH YESTERDAY, ON THE OCCASION OF OUR NATIONAL DAY, HE ALSO PRESENTED THESE BASIC PROBLEMS WHICH MUST BE SETTLED FOR ANY PEACE AGREEMENT TO BE VALID. THESE PROBLEMS ARE, FIRST OF ALL, THE PROBLEM OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS IN SOUTH VIETNAM. THE COMMUNISTS DEMAND THAT THE U.S. WITHDRAW ITS TROOPS FROM WOUTH VIETNAM BUT THEY SAY NOTHING OF THE 300,000 COMMUNIST TROOPS AND CADRES WHO ARE OUTSIDE THE BORDERS OF NORTH VIETNAM. ANOTHER PROBLEM:
THE COMMUNISTS CALL FOR RESPECT OF THE GENEVA AGREEMENT OF 1954 AND 1962 BUT SAY NOTHING WITH REGARD TO WHETHER OR NOT THEY WILL RESPECT THESE AGREEMENTS. IN PARTICULAR, THERE IS THE PROBLEM OF THE DMZ. FOR THE COMMUNISTS THERE ARE ONLY THREE STATES IN INDOCHINA, AND NOT FOUR STATES, PENDING THE REUNIFICATION OF VIETNAM. THEN THERE IS THE POLITICAL PROBLEM: THAT IS, THERE CANNOT BE IMPOSED ON THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE A GOVERNMENT OR ANY PREFABRICATED POWER FORMULA.
THEN TOO, THERE IS THE QUESTION OF NEGOTIATION. NORTH VIETNAM CLAIMS TO RESPECT THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION, BUT IT DEMANDS TO PARTICIPATE IN DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM AND THE SO-CALLED NLF. THIS IS INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF SOUTH VIETNAM, THEREFORE, THERE

DECLASSIFIED
Authority E012958
By WJ311 NARA Date 3/6/00

SITUATION: PARIS TALKS
SUBJECT CATAGORY: RVN

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

ARE PROBLEMS WHICH MUST BE AT THE BASIS FOR ANY PEACE AGREEMENT, AND OUR POSITION IS THAT THEY MUST BE RESOLVED, AND THERE IS NO BETTER WAY TO RESOLVE THEM THAN AMONG VIETNAMESE,
Q-. GOLDSMITH, AP
A POINT OF INTERNATIONAL LAW: IN YOUR OPINION, DO THE AMERICANS HAVE THE RIGHT TO REACH AGREEMENT WITH THE NORTH VIETNAMESE ON ACEASE-FIRE WITHOUT YOUR APPROVAL?
A-. I CAN SIMPLY TELL YOU THIS: ANY PEACE AGREEMENT WHICH COMMITS THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM MUST BEAR THE SIGNATURE OF ITS GOVERNMENT, THIS IS IN KEEPING WITH INTERNATIONAL LAW, DON'T YOU THINK SO?
Q-. ULLMAN, AFP
THERE IS SOMETHING WHICH IS NOT VERY CLEAR TO ME, THIS IS WHY I WOULD LIKE TO GO BACK OVER IT. ON THE ONE HAND THERE IS THE CEASE FIRE AND ON THE OTHER, THE PEACE AGREEMENT, THE PEACE AGREEMENT IT SEEMS TO ME SHOULD BE THE CONCLUSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE WHICH IS TO TAKE PLACE. THEREFORE A CERTAIN NUMBER OF POINTS WHICH COULD NOT BE RESOLVED AT THE TIME OF THE CEASE-FIRE COULD BE RESOLVED THEREAFTER DURING THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE.
A-. THIS IS WHAT WE PROPOSED: ANY PEACE AGREEMENT INVLVING SOUTH VIETNAM MUST BEAR ITS SIGNATURE, INCLUDING THE CEASE-FIRE.
Q-. RENARD, FIGARO
MR. DAN THIS IS AN HYPOTHESIS, AND YOU MIGHT VERY WELL NOT ANSWER MY QUESTION, COULD YOU AUTHORIZE THE AMERICAN PARTY TO REPRESENT YOU IN TALKS WITH THE PRG WHICH WOULD MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO DISCUSS THE POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF SOUTH VIETNAM. MR. KISSINGER WOULD ONE AGAIN PLAY A ROLE OF MAILMAN, HE WOULD TRANSMIT THE PRG'S QUESTIONS TO YOU AND YOUR ANSWERS BACK TO THEM. IS THIS POSSIBLE?
A-. MR. RENARD, YOU HAVE A GREAT DEAL OF IMAGINATION, UNFORTUNATELY, THAT DOES NOT CORRESPOND TO THE REQUIREMENTS OF REALITY. IF THERE ARE NO OTHER QUESTIONS I'LL SEE YOU NEXTT HURSDAY.
PORTER

BT

DECLASSIFIED
Authority E012958
By WJ NARA Date 3/6/00